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No Laws, No Rights of Property should Stand Against those who Create Property.

The Great Fact of the Century.

Since the human race has no means of enjoyable existence, or of existence at all but what it derives from its own labor applied to the resources of the earth, and since the transformed tools of production have become the property of a class and are used primarily, not for supplying wants, but for making profits, it would be reasonable if the great body of workers, divested by the economic evolution of ownership in the modern tools of production and dispossessed also of the land, demanded that the whole question of labor be considered in all its bearings as if it had now appeared for the first time. The working class, as such, has a right to demand a re-examination of the whole question. Justice and the good of the community demand it.

When the present century opened nearly all work was performed by hand and the various industries afforded opportunities for living getting. The persons engaged in them were, to a large extent, the owners of the tools or means of production. But see the marvelous change and try to grasp its meaning and its effects on civilization. Work, in constantly increasing measure is done by machinery; the various industries afford opportunity for gaining a living to a comparatively few only, and a diminishing few, with almost unlimited opportunity for the owners of machinery to extend their dominion over the human race. Millions of men are being reduced to beggary and the dependent class by this one fact of the monopolization of the modern means of production in the hands of an exploiting class.

The machinery in the mills and factories of Great Britain alone is equal to doing the work of 700,000,000 men—more than all the adult inhabitants of the earth at this time.

The single state of Massachusetts has machinery enough to do as much work as 50,000,000 men could do by hand.

Massachusetts contains in its shoe factories enough machinery to produce in six months all the shoes that all the men, women and children in all the states require in twelve months.

Yet there are men, women and children in Massachusetts shoeless and starving! And Great Britain, with all its mighty increase in productive power, has one pauper in every ten of its entire population.

A pair of shoes requires an average labor-time of only half an hour in the making by modern methods; yet the modern shoemaker does not have as much food to eat or clothes to wear as the sons of St. Crispin who formerly spent two days on a pair.

In the short period since August, 1894, the most successful of the companies which manufactures type-setting (and type-making) machines, has distributed \$5,360,000 in cash dividends to a few stockholders. But in the same period thousands of compositors (probably 15,000) have been compelled to "hit the turf" for the reason that every machine introduced has meant "no work" for four to six of their craft. Besides this, the printers who do find work get no better pay than their predecessors did twenty-five years ago. The machine has not bettered the condition of printers one particle.

The productive power of society, by discovery and invention, has been doubled every ten years, and even in less than ten, during the century, yet misery, want, degradation, insanity, suicide and murder—nearly all having their procuring cause in the economic distress of the masses who have made civilization only to be stripped of the means of maintaining it—are commonest where capitalism is strongest. The increase of crime, due fundamentally to the private ownership of the people's tools of production, has become so alarming that a scientific writer proposes the restoration of the "Tarpeian rock, from which the criminal class may be hurled to death."

Private ownership of the machinery of production, which machinery is quite as essential to society now as the individual tool used to be, is a standing menace to the peace of society and involves the destruction of civilization if continued.

The new laundry machine which will iron 12,000 collars a day, will also give the laundry girls more time to themselves. They can use it looking for something to do in other directions at a dollar-fifty a week.

A Sound Indictment.

COMPARED with any worthy conception of what society must become, if life is to be made tolerable, the Socialistic indictments against our civilization are essentially sound. As abstract propositions these diagnoses expose with approximate truth the ghastly inequalities and injustices which our present social order SANCTIFIES.

—Prof. Albion W. Small, of the Chicago (Rockefeller) University.

Rascality persevered in brings its own reward—there's Matt Quay for instance. The senators who will seat Quay in the senate will assert their class interest.

The cry of "treason," coming from the republican press and political parasites, should surprise nobody. That crew is capable of anything to cover its treason to humanity.

Quite a batch of professorial gentry of Chicago University seem to have suddenly awakened to an understanding of what "patriotism" really means. "Patriotism" has cost the world, since the Crimean war, \$12,263,000,000, or enough to give \$10 to every man, woman and child on the globe.

What a tremendous struggle this has been, of a hundred and twenty years duration to found a government by the people, only to find that when it takes its place among the governments of the earth it is a government by trusts, that the very liberty it claimed for itself at the outset is denied to others at the "finish!"

The declaration of Dr. H. W. Wiley, Chief Chemist of the Department of Agriculture, that practically everything we eat and drink is adulterated, is not calculated to weaken the Socialist demand that the manufacture of everything we eat and drink shall pass from the hands of private manufacturers for profit and become a public function.

Trusts are combinations to control trade and a trust government is a combination to control the people in behalf of the trusts controlling trade. When the people learn to trust themselves they will have a trust embracing themselves and a government to administer the trust in their own behalf.

Every sane man, whether American or Asiatic, will agree that forcible subjugation of a purchased people is "criminal aggression." It required an administration dominated by Mark Hanna, Steve Elkins, Matt Quay and Chauncey Depew to inaugurate such a policy and call it "benevolent assimilation."

William Sloemer, a member of the city council of New Albany, Ind., and a poor man, has declined to accept \$6 per meeting for his services, against which he voted a year ago when the pay was raised from \$2 to \$6, and has given his receipt in full for the year at the old rate. The average "patriotic" rich man would have taken the maximum amount and attempted to loot the treasury besides.

The biggest traitors in this country are the traders in politics and the traders in the products of honest labor. The former may be found anywhere in public life, from the White House down. The worst treason is treason to humanity, and of traitors to humanity there are plenty in the United States. They are worse than traitors to a document, who betray the interests of the people and trade on their necessities.

The capitalization of trusts previous to January 1, 1899, was \$3,327,987,300. Since that time several gigantic combines have been effected, including the copper trust, with a capital of \$400,000,000 and the new steel trust, which controls every important plant in the country, with a capital of \$800,000,000 to ONE BILLION DOLLARS, and the total capital combined to control trade and "extend the blessings of civilization" is now fully \$5,000,000,000.

The Rostrum.

Following is Comrade F. G. R. Gordon's ten minute speech at the "Party Symposium" at Parker Memorial Hall, Boston, April 23, where representatives of five political parties set forth what their respective party would do for the people if they had control of the political power:

The Social Democratic Party was organized because it became absolutely necessary to organize a political party in America that should be in line with the international Socialist movement of the world, a movement that is a steadily growing power in every civilized nation, a movement that means the complete emancipation of mankind from the present system of inequality and injustice. Believing as we do that political parties are simply used as a means to a desired end, we have organized a Social Democratic Party, adopted a scientific platform, and adopted tactics in harmony with the nineteenth century, and we propose on these lines to make a campaign, to make a propaganda that shall reach into the home of every man and every woman in America. The placing in power of the Social Democratic party would mean the emancipation of the toiling masses from the present wage-system, the total destruction of the present wage system which defrauds the producer of three-fourths of his product. It would not only mean that, but it would mean to take from the mills and factories of America two millions of school children under the age of sixteen, who are toiling away their little lives in order that profits may be piled up and swell the millions of the already multi-millionaires, a crime that is the most monstrous that can be conceived, the robbery of 2,000,000 of children, whose fathers are probably tramping the highways and byways of this land, searching for work to do.

The placing in power of the S. D. P. would not only mean that, but it would mean the elimination of all useless and unproductive toil. It would mean the saving of the enormous waste which now burdens society, an aggregate of more than 100 million dollars, equal to \$7 a day for every family in America every day in the year, every penny of which would be saved to all the people in society under Social Democracy.

But the placing in power of the S. D. P. would mean more than this. It would mean the conferring of a double freedom upon one-half of the population of the country, for woman is not only an economic slave as man is, but, as our Comrade Eugene V. Debs says, "Woman is the slave of a slave." Socialism would make her economically independent, and thus provide the basis for her intellectual and physical freedom.

When we think of what the human race has accomplished in the past 100 years, of the progress in science that has conquered the earth, the air and the sea, we will readily come to the conclusion that this progress is not going to stop short and that civilization is not going to be destroyed; but that the race is going to march on to a civilization that will be worthy of the name, and that it will outgrow and leave behind it forever this pagan civilization that has filled the earth with black midnight misery, and made life to a large proportion of our people a hell upon earth. The great industrial centres of our country to-day are blots upon civilization. In the great metropolis of America there are 21,000 absolutely homeless people. To-morrow morning 25,000 little children will go to school without having had any breakfast. 175,000 people are evicted from their homes every year, 125,000 of them simply and solely because they have not had an opportunity to work and earn enough to pay their rent; and there are at least 200,000 more whose every conscious waking hour is a nightmare of dread lest the sheriff shall appear upon the scene and drive them out, homeless and destitute, upon the pitiless streets.

300,000 more are slowly but surely starving to death in the second richest city on the globe.

And this condition is not the fault of the leaders, the politicians, the so-called statesmen alone. It is equally the fault of the working class themselves who have gone up to the ballot box, and have voted into office men whose interest it is to maintain things as they are, men who have crystallized into law every possible means of perpetuating the industrial system which is

based on the exploitation of labor, and which makes millionaires on the one hand and paupers and tramps on the other.

When the new system comes, as come it will, and I believe within a dozen years, the industrial revolution will be complete. We are not a dangerous people. We do not carry on this fight with any hatred to any individuals. We carry it on because we hate the system which is wrong and unjust. We want to institute a system that is wise and equitable instead of one that is unwise and unjust. We want a system of wealth production instead of anarchy. We want equal rights and opportunities for all mankind. We want the people collectively to own and operate the machinery of production and distribution in order that they may receive the full product of their labor; and we invite good men and women everywhere to join the Social Democratic Party, and help to bring about this desired end.

We ask you to join the political organization which demands Socialism and help with your little might, and with your work and your influence in the organization, to bring about a better and nobler civilization. When you have done this you can say you have done your duty; and, until you have done it, you have not done your duty.

If we should enact temperance legislation, it would be a saving perhaps to the working class of a billion and a half dollars, as our prohibition friend has told you; and if it did save to them that amount, no one would recognize the fact any quicker than the capitalist class, who are in the market to buy labor the same as they buy any other commodity—at the lowest price—and they will say at once "If you can live without spending your money for beer, you can live on so much less," and down will come your wages. Certainly it would be a good thing for them, physically and morally, if they would do without beer, but they wouldn't be any better off, financially, because of it.

It is quite true, as my republican friend has said, that the republican party has ruled Massachusetts for years. Indeed, when you look at the conditions among the workers throughout the state, it is very evident that they have. And if you go down in the State of Texas, and go to the statistician's reports and find out the facts about the tenant farmers, and the number of mortgaged-cursed farmers who are constantly being evicted from their homes, and when you find that the busiest man in the state is the sheriff who has to nail up "Notices to Quit," and enforce them, you will be reminded of the fact that the democratic party has ruled Texas for years.

Socialists are simply seeking the best welfare of society. I believe there is not a man or woman within the sound of my voice, who if he or she will intelligently and impartially investigate the principles of Socialism, will not be convinced of their reasonableness and their justice. In conclusion, let me urge you to give your vote for them on election day, and join a Socialist political organization and help to bring about the good time that is coming.

The Chief Chemist of the Department of Agriculture testifies that the lives of the people are jeopardized by the class which trades in food products for profit.

While the police of Vilna, Russia, were preparing to take a number of Socialist workmen from the prison to the railroad station for deportation to Siberia, about 600 working men and women gathered near the prison, and, when the imprisoned friends appeared, gave them a rousing ovation. The crowd sang the Workingmen's Marseillaise and several other revolutionary songs. Cheers for the International Social Democracy were freely given while the train pulled out of the station, carrying the beloved comrades who are to spend their future life in far-off Siberia.

German capitalists are beginning to import cheap labor from the Arabian districts in Northern Africa and Egypt. A troupe of Arabian men, women and children have just arrived in Baden, where they will begin work in factories. Cheap labor is the ideal of capitalism everywhere!

INVITE YOUR FRIENDS TO SUBSCRIBE.

CAPITALISM AND CRIME.

BY ISADOR LADOFF.

DIVINELY beautiful are the spring nights in the taiga the primeval forests of Siberia. Nature—the bushes and fields, the grassy plains and ponds, the hills and valleys, the lakes and rivers, the azure sky and emerald earth—is full of life. The paradise-like air is almost over-burdened with the exquisite fragrance of numberless flowers. Nature is resting with the repose of a young giant. Mysterious sounds reach now and then the ear of the listener: the whispering of the leaves, the splashing of a near-by brook, the rustle of wings of a scared bird, the rapid run of a beast of prey. These noises hush down as suddenly as they come and then quiet, the quiet of life, joy and power, reigns supreme.

In the midst of this primeval forest there is one point, appearing to be a habitation of men. Let us observe this point more closely. It turns out to be a miserable wooden shanty, serving as a prison station on the main Siberian road, for the passing and repassing bands of "criminals." Let us step a little closer to the building and take a peep inside. The weary sentinel, a green recruit just taken from the plough, is looking in the opposite direction and dreaming about his native village and probably the girl he left behind him, and consequently will not notice us. Merciful sleep reigns in this filthy den, full of the dregs and scum of humanity, just as majestically as in the gorgeous palaces of the favorites of fate, the demigods of the crowd. Will you examine attentively the features of the sleeping criminals? Standing, sitting, laying in the closest vicinity of the huge night-tub whose contaminating contents flow over its rims and reach the floor in streams, they sleep as comfortable or uncomfortable as they can or must. Not a particle of the paradise-like air penetrates into the prison. It is stifling hot inside. The so-called "air" filling the room is nothing else but an infernal compound of deadly miasma. The pale, haggard, care-worn features of the sleepers, expressing all kinds of vice, hate, disappointment and, above all, a deep tiredness of life, make you shudder. The features however express more than that—a bitter reproach.

"Yes, look at us attentively, you virtuous citizens of the community, you fathers and children of respectable families!" these features seem to say, "look at us, children of ill fate, conceived in sin, born in squalor and misery, reared in extreme poverty, we erred grievously against you—respectable citizens—against society. And here we are, a warning and example to others. But did you, good citizens as you are, take care of our mothers when we were about to be born? Did you watch us when we were still innocent babies in the cradles? Did you feed us when we were hungry, did you quench our thirst, did you clothe our nakedness when we shivered from cold? Did you teach us how to live and love humanity? Did you supply us with work when we were idle? It is true, we are now the worst enemies of society. But did not society treat us as such from the moment of our appearance in the world? O! Leave us alone, you 'good citizens.' This place is not good enough for you! Let us alone in our pandemonium and visit some of your multi-millionaires. The multi-millionaire's royal palace is an earthly paradise. He is surrounded by a happy family and all the world pronounces his name with deep reverence. And why not? He spends fortunes for charitable purposes of all kinds, builds churches, erects and endows universities, patronizes high art and literature. But do not ask from whom and where he got his treasures. Evil tongues affirm that he never in his life earned a penny by the work of his hands. Many a merchant or clerk ended his life by suicide. Many a widow and orphan were compelled to take refuge to the beggars' staff. Many a fair

maiden was driven to tread the thorny path of sexual slavery. Many a frugal and honest laborer ended his life as a pauper. And the evil tongues affirm that all this misery was the direct result of the marvelous manipulations of that financial wizard. The evil tongues affirm even that your 'fin de siècle' speculator, promoter, railroad king, trust magnate and political boss hurt society more than we miserable old-fashioned and stupid criminals!"

That is what the features of the sleeping criminals seem to say. Do we interpret them rightly?

Society is responsible for the consequences of the imperfections of its organization. Criminals are the products of these imperfections. The professional criminals get their criminal habits in the earliest youth, in the midst of the lowest strata of the proletariat, in overpopulated districts of industrial centers. Boys usually start their criminal career with common vagrancy, turn thieves under the pressure of the direct wants and end with more grave offenses, when hardened by the persecution of the authorities and heartlessness of the people in general. Criminal propensities show themselves at a very tender age and develop into a full bloom only where the conditions for their development are especially favorable. If counteracted in time, these propensities are checked forever. Children with criminal inclinations form a well marked type of physical degeneracy, a low stature, a small head, weak eyes, a nervous temperament, unsatisfactory general development, excessive leanness, paleness and aversion to any exertion. These physical defects are to a considerable extent the cause of their dreary profession. They are unable to compete with the normal laborer. There is for them left only the choice between eternal starvation or crime. The criminals are as a rule mentally inferior, they are either stupid or have no power of will, or suffer from both defects at once. The conditions of family life, to which they owe their birth, are in the overwhelming majority of cases highly unfortunate.

Most of the criminals have lost both parents or at least one of them at a very tender age, or if they are both alive are of such a character, as to have only a demoralizing influence on their offspring.

About 80 per cent. of the parents of criminals are either very immoral or professional criminals themselves. The economic condition of the young recruits of the irregular army of criminals is a very sad one. They can expect nothing from their parents and are physically and mentally weak themselves. All conditions, hereditary taint, physical and mental degeneracy, orphanage, or bad parents, deep poverty and the low moral standard of their environment, push the criminally inclined children on the inclined plane of a criminal profession, where they sink naturally lower and lower till they get at a stage where they are beyond redemption, the worst enemies of society.

And now does our capitalistic society treat its stepchildren, the criminals, the victims of wickedness and irrationality? It maintains a highly complicated and expensive machinery of secret and official police, public prosecutors, criminal courts with all their paraphernalia, prisons of all kind, in order to catch the criminals in flagranti or after they have committed a crime and then punish them; that means, take revenge on them.

That punishment of any kind does not have the effect of decreasing crime, or making it less atrocious is a generally acknowledged fact. And yet this barbaric penal system seems to gratify the feeling of "justice" of our capitalistic mob. One feels involuntarily like repeating on such occasions the question of Pontius Pilate: "What is justice?" If it means justice to create degenerates and then punish

them for acting like degenerates, then the less we have of it the better we will be off.

The capitalistic mob divides all humanity into two parts, the well-intentioned and malcontents. The malcontents have to be kept in check by whatever means practicable. It is not necessary to study the criminal class and to find out where it comes from, where it goes to, how it thinks, feels, suffers. The capitalistic mob is probably afraid that such a study would compel it to resign its phariseic and complacent self-adulation and self-adoration, that it would show that not all criminals are behind the bars and not all well-intentioned on the other side of the bars.

Probably that mob is afraid that such a study would lead to the overturning of the whole system of the present treatment of criminals and replace the barbaric principle "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" by a more humane tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner (to comprehend all means to pardon all.) How low indeed the moral standard of the capitalistic mob its can be concluded from the generally acknowledged fact, that people committing grave crimes against society, provided they are sufficiently rich, belong to the so-called higher class, but succeeding in escaping the odium of conviction by a so-called court of justice, and do not lose caste. A successful rascal who perseveres this reputation for respectability untarnished is even held in a higher esteem, than an honest man who fails to succeed in a material way. The first is considered a smart fellow, the second a fool. A premium is in this way put on artful avoidance of the clutches of the blind goddess of capitalistic justice in our present society.

What shall we do with our criminal class? is a problem treated in various ways by the press, pulpit and statesmen, and perplexing many a learned man. And that problem will not and cannot be solved as long as the foundations of society are such as to breed crime and criminals. Rent, profit and unpaid human labor, in short our capitalistic system has to be replaced by a higher, more humane social system before crime will disappear as a menace to society. Moral conduct is just as normal to men as physical health. An immoral man is a sick man. As hygienic measures are preferable to drugging, so is prevention of crime preferable to punishment for committed crimes. Rational and ethical social and economic conditions would destroy the commonest motives of crime and make it a relic of a barbaric past.

In the Socialistic state, there would be no proletariat devoured by a superior class, there would not be any orphans left to their own fate. Children with criminal propensities would be treated in special schools and their vices would be stamped out before they grew too strong and unmanageable. There would be no necessity for criminal courts, prosecuting attorneys, police and all the rest of the safeguards of our capitalistic iniquity. There would be no private property to protect, no hunger to be appeased by stealing, no contrast between immensely rich and wretchedly poor to arouse the anxiety of the first and the envy of the last. There would be no social conditions leading to over-refinement of enmity on one side and to bestialization on the other. The German poet says: "Das eben ist der Kluch der bösen That, dass sie forzeugeud Böses muss gebären." The capitalistic system itself is based on criminal exploitation of men by men. It is cannibalism in disguise, nay, more than cannibalism. The human flesh eaters of Phidshy kill their victim before they eat his body. But the capitalistic system devours the living bone and marrow of the wage-slaves and their families, drinks their blood and swallows their brains while they are still alive and palpitate with energy and vigor. Is it to be wondered at that it breeds crime? But let us not be discouraged.

Build, ye, who draw the sword for justice,
Lay deep the ponderous base;
Your pile a fortress rises from the waters,
A sure abiding place.

Build on, ye souls who upward lead the erring,
And dry the sufferer's tear,
Above the shining spray gleams on forever
The beacon light, ye rear.

Build on, ye tollers all for good and heaven,
Build patiently and sure;
The tide will flow, but 'mid its foaming
breakers
Your work shall stand secure.

LAW vs. LABOR.

By GEORGE G. CUTTING.

The Book and Job Branch of Typographical Union, No. 13, at Boston, having decided to take up the discussion of social and economic subjects, the first in a series of lectures was delivered at New England hall, by George G. Cutting, a member of the Boston Branch of the S. D. P. Comrade Cutting spoke in part as follows:

I believe the spirit of progress is abroad in Boston. I congratulate the members of Book and Job Branch on the adoption of the resolution to discuss economic and social questions. Let us not stop here, but introduce this spirit of progress before the union. There could be at least a half hour's lecture on some timely subject at each meeting, or at each special meeting. We could easily spare this time, if we only ceased to devote so much time to unimportant discussion over really small matters.

The time has come when trade unionists must depart from the narrow, beaten path of the generation just passing away, and arm themselves with a better understanding of the economic problem which we are about to solve. We must either become men or slaves.

While believing that trade unions as a whole do not take up the questions that are the root and foundation of all their contention, I believe they are now about to do so. Many unionists who have fought faithfully in the ranks, and as leaders, believe the usefulness of the unions is past. I am not one of them. There never was a greater necessity for them. Men are barely saved from slavery by their protecting influence. But it must be apparent to every intelligent mind that forces are now at work which the trade union, pure and simple, is unable to combat. We must give our attention to a wider range of thought, and use all the power of the ballot to enforce our demands. I do not mean that the union shall become a political machine at this time, but that the union should become the school of politics, where all phases of the political situation can be discussed.

In order to begin the history of Law vs. Labor, I should have to go back 10,000 years. This will be impossible to-day; so I will begin at the invention of machinery where production necessitated associated effort.

In 1471 Caxton set up his printing press; 1535, first English Bible was printed; 1690, first newspaper in America, in Boston; 1764, spinning machine invented; 1773, steam engine perfected by Watts; 1785, the machine loom; 1793 cotton gin invented by Whitney; 1799, paper machine.

At this time there was rapid development of great centres of industry, and the people (the working people) petitioned the English Parliament for laws to suppress machines and manufactures, but the capitalist owner succeeded in getting laws for the protection of machinery.

In 1800 the first anti-combination law passed the British Parliament. About this time Robert Owen wrote his book on "A New View of Society." Owen was a manufacturer. At the age of twenty-five years he was the manager of a cotton mill. Soon after he established a business for himself. He learned practical life by practical experience; and became an educationalist and sought to reform society. In his writings he pictures the state of affairs in connection with his own manufactories, how the workers, especially women and children, degenerated physically, intellectually and morally. Owen's social philosophy is essentially characterized by this: that he believes in man as essentially good by nature, and in an order of co-operative life, which would in like manner be naturally good if these men were brought into proper relation with each other.

In 1807, Fulton took his first steamboat voyage; 1814, the revolving printing press invented; 1817, measures for the relief of the unemployed discussed in U. S. Congress and British Parliament; 1819, first steamboat crossed the Atlantic ocean; 1825, saw the beginning of the rise of trade unions, which soon supplanted the guilds; 1828, first passenger railroad in U. S.

1830, first English railroad.
1831, first strike of the silkworkers at Lyons, France, occurred.

1833, first consolidated trade union organized by Robert Owen.
1856, telegraph invented by Morse.

1845, penny postage introduced in England.

1846, sewing machine completed by Howe.

1847, first Socialist agitation was carried on by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, with the motto: "Workingmen of all countries, unite."

1848, on December 16, Boston printer's union organized.

1850, England had attained the position of industrial despot in the markets of the world, a position which she has struggled successfully to maintain. At this time trade unions made very rapid progress.

1856, stern measures enacted in Germany for the suppression of trade unions—and they became secret societies. In France, Napoleon III promulgated severe laws for the suppression of social agitators.

From this time on there has been most wonderful progress in invention of both "labor making" and "labor saving" machinery, all tending to make the workers more dependent and less independent, until now we are rightly named "wage slaves."

1867, the standard work on Socialism, "Capital," published by Karl Marx.

1869, Social Democratic Workingmen's party was organized in Germany, under the leadership of August Bebel and Wm. Liebknecht, both of whom are now members of the German Reichstag. Liebknecht is now 73 years old, but is a most powerful and influential factor in German politics. Bebel is the author of the standard work on woman, "Woman—Past, Present and Future."

1871, English parliament passes laws giving trade unions greater privileges. In this year the great Paris Commune had its brief reign.
1875, we find the veteran George McNeil agitating for the 8-hour day here in Massachusetts.

1885-90, German Reichstag enacted a number of anti-Socialist laws.

1881, Social Democratic Federation of the several German states was organized.

1883, Fabian Society (English Socialists) was organized in England. In this year the workingmen's assurance law was passed.

This law assures the workingmen in case of sickness. Laws for insurance against accident and the aged pension law were passed a little later. New Zealand has also an old age pension law.

1887, Independent Labor party (a Socialist organization) was organized in England, under the leadership of John Burns, Tom Mann and Keir Hardie.

1888, Socialist Labor party made its first nomination in the United States. There had previously existed what was the parent of the S. L. P., the "International." Samuel Gompers, president of the Federation of Labor, was a member.

1890, first May day international holiday.

1891, new program adopted by Social Democrats in Germany. They came out of the elections as the strongest party, with 1,786,738 votes; in 1898, 2,125,000.

1894, the trade unionists of England declared themselves, by a majority vote, for the collective ownership of the means of production. This is the year of the great Coxy movement in the United States.

Since this time the great strikes have occurred in the Pennsylvania coal mines, and the great sympathetic strike at Pullman, where that great international patriot, Eugene V. Debs, was the leader. You remember his imprisonment without trial by jury, by a tyrant.

ical court. This was the first case where the damnable designs of our courts to enslave the masses was unmasked.

I have given the events that have taken place in other parts of the world for the reason that you are more familiar with the recent events at home, and because the trade unions (as trade unions pure and simple) have reached their highest point of development in foreign countries, and are now developing political action. We are at least ten years behind Continental Europe in this respect.

I will now proceed to cite a few cases where labor, in competition with laws made by the two capitalist parties, has come out second best.

You remember the Debs contempt injunction case. I really wish the trade unionists of Boston could have been at the Forum, at Parker Memorial, on March 20th, and heard the representative of capital, Hon. Frank D. Allen of Lynn, defend "government by injunction." As you know, Mr. Allen is a lawyer, and of course is an upholder of his class—courts and lawyers—and being an orthodox lawyer he substantially told us that the courts could do no wrong. He devoted a good share of his time to the Debs case; and acknowledged that Debs was acquitted by a jury of his peers, but convicted of contempt by an equity court. He admitted that the reason that monopoly and capital applied to equity courts for assistance was because they distrusted the jury system. He also admitted that the constitution said that a man could not be deprived of his liberty except by a jury of his peers; but said the constitution did not limit the power of an equity court.

You also remember the case of injunction forbidding the coal miners of Latimer to parade the public streets, and how the high sheriff with his unsworn mob, murdered the miners in cold blood; the case of the Brooklyn motormen, where the democratic governor, Flower, of New York ordered the State troops out to enforce the injunction cases; and the injunctions at Haverhill, where the strikers were forbidden to parade streets on which shoe factories were situated.

There was the strike on the Toledo and Ann Arbor road. Lennon, a locomotive engineer, was fined and imprisoned because of his refusal to take his locomotive out after the court had ordered him to return to work. Judge Ricks, who issued the injunction restraining him from leaving the company's service, was transported from one end of the road to the other in a private car, and made his injunction right in the company's office. There were two other men sent to prison for eighteen months, each for contempt, for non-compliance with court injunction, without a trial by jury or a public hearing.

I have pointed out in a general way the tendency of our courts to interpret laws that are, and laws that are not; which only exist as so-called common laws (law made by courts) against labor; and I feel it my duty to suggest a remedy. I do not expect all to agree with me; but to those who do not I extend the invitation to show me a better.

John Adams said: "When the working poor are paid in return for their labor only such money as will buy them the necessities of life their condition is identical with that of the slave, who receive those necessities at first hand. The former we call free men and the latter slaves, but the difference is imaginary only."

What I propose is a system that gives workmen the full product of their labor. I would substitute the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of industry.

None of us have a friendly feeling toward the trusts; but is fighting the encroachments of the trusts the best course? Are they not the logical outcome of our competitive system? Is it not precisely similar to the well-meant but misguided battle which trade unions once fought against the introduction of labor saving machinery? Was not machinery a saving to the world at large? Is not an approved method of production and distribution a gain to the world?

Stories from Real Life

"They Do Their Best."

One of the girls had soft brown hair, with golden tints in it. It was shoved back from her brow and gathered in a loose coil at the back of a head that was decidedly classic in outline. Her face was pale and there were purple shadows around the dark eyes. She had on a "robe de nuit," which fell around her in severe folds, and she posed unconsciously as she sat on the corner of her trunk, with her delicate looking hands loosely clasping one knee.

She was gazing thoughtfully at the other girl who was fair and whom she called Kate, and who was crouched down on one end of a shabby lounge, with her head buried in a dainty cushion.

"My dear," she said, addressing the back of the blonde head. "We have done our best. Alexander himself did no more. You preside at the lace counter of an emporium—salary \$6 per week. I am the machine through which percolates the correspondence of your firm—salary \$8 per week. Collectively, possible, but not—er—princely. Our domicile—"

She paused and gazed, thoughtfully still, at her surroundings. The walls had grimy wall-paper, the pattern of which was ghastly shrouded in coal soot. The room had a few pieces of grimy furniture, evincing eloquently and clearly the degeneracy but not the dignity of old age—or old, old age. A small iron sink occupied one corner and a strip of clean oil-cloth tacked about endeavored to hide, with laudable intent, but dubious success, the relays from many dishwashings that had greasily accumulated into an inextinguishable dado over a three-foot area. A small gasoline stove, much the worse for wear, and ominously rusty around a tank suggestive of the leaning tower of Pisa, filled, but did not adorn, another corner. A few dishes were neatly arranged upon a small shelf above. A shabby looking mantel bed of the extremely inexpensive order was vis-a-vis to the gasoline stove. On the sooty wall three small but exquisite etchings, some photos and a rack of books upon whose well-worn names of poets and philosophers appeared, altogether sadly out of place.

A small soap box served as one leg of the grimy lounge; on which several pretty denim cushions looked incongruous. A neat oak davenport, thoroughly if inexpensively fitted out, balanced corners with the sink and seemed vaguely ill at ease, if courteously made. A very smoky and hopelessly worn carpet struggled fitfully to cover what it could of the rough floor and seemed humbly apologetic in its demeanor toward a small Smyrna rug that drew its artistic dimensions together in frigid isolation near the decrepit lounge. A strip of Moorish tapestry wooed the eye with its soft blended colors, but the cheap deal legs of an ancient kitchen table scorned subterfuge and made themselves brazenly in evidence beneath the rich and dusky cloth of the orient. On the cloth stood a small vase holding sweet peas. The dark eyes rested thirstily on the pink blossoms and the journey around the unlovely room had deepened their shadowy circles.

"Our domicile," she resumed presently, "is not palatial. In fact, as a home it is rather hideous. But—what would you! There are rent, washing, clothes, the butcher and baker and the candlestick-maker, the dentist and the doctor and the gasoline gentleman, toilet necessities and stamps and"—a little chill smile crept up to the purple shadows and deepened still more heavily the weariness in the eyes—"and the exterminator."

The fair head was lifted and a shudder of loathing shook the girl's thin figure.

"Oh, it is that! that!"—she cried passionately. "It is the roaches

and the dirt. The building is old and dirty. I could bear the poverty, but it is what we have to face and the—varmin we fight. It makes me so deadly sick."

The head went down again into the denim pillow and the thin frame shook with hopeless sobs. "If we were only back in our other rooms," came despairingly from the denim cushions.

"Yes, dear. But there was your long illness that hung the millstone of debt about your slender neck, poor girlie, and my enforced vacation when my other firm went under. It is dead, low tide for both of us. Here we have no car fare, though we have smoke and dust and—other incidentals ad libitum. And we must retrench, dear. The mortgage on my 'piana fortay,' as our wash-lady called it, is the ever present ghost at our Nero-like banquets, prepared with grace and gasoline. My poor instrument—relic of 'by gone grandeur.' The one thing left in my emptied Pandora box."

She leaned over from the trunk and lifted the cloth that shrouded a small upright of good make.

"The interest is horrible," said the other.

"The interest is horrible—yes," she assented. Then she added:

"You remember the parson in 'The Choir Invisible?' He compared us to camels crossing a desert with sores on their humps and the loads so arranged that they chafed the sores. He could understand the burden, but not the sores. And we—we are willing to labor, but it is this—the roaches and the dirt and the vulgarity of poverty that send the iron into one's soul. Surely, for women who are not strong the burden was enough without the deadly nausea of this."

And there was a heavy soul sickness in the even, passionate tones as the delicate hands were flung out in impotent rebellion at the sordidness closing in around her.

"Close your eyes, dear. I will play your 'Spring Song.'"

The soft notes of Mendelssohn's air crept out above the muffled roar of the city street. Slow, sweet, vibrating with an infinite pathos, pulsating with an eternal questioning, it crept and swelled and swooned in the grim, dreary room. The sordidness was forgotten, though the headache and weariness remained. The girl on the lounge slept. She at the piano pressed her lips to the keys, for the dawn was breaking dully through the yellow smoke and that day the mortgage was to be foreclosed. The face on the denim cushion was ghastly pale and thin in the faint light.

"It will be the 'little windowless house' and the blind room very soon, little one," murmured the other. "But you will be at rest and you will not care."

She bent and kissed her softly. Then going back to the piano, she bowed her head on her arms and at last, slowly, the bitter tears came.

Labor, tell us of the future; is it well? Shall justice reign and law cease oppression?

Labor, we wish thee freedom—shake off thy shackles! Thou art ruler of the world, didst thou know thy power!

Labor, thou worker of wonders! The magic of thy hand makes us believe that we'er long shall fly around the world.

Labor, tell us is it true, that in the coming century our slave, electricity, will work at our command?

Labor, with thy chart and compass, kindly guide us safely from the tempestuous seas of competition, within the peaceful harbor of co-operation.

Labor, when the day of freedom comes, the curse of war shall cease. Then can we truly sing "My country, 'tis of thee, Sweet land of liberty."—GEORGE G. CUTTING.

News from the Branches and notices for publication should be mailed to reach Belleville not later than Monday morning.

We will send THE HERALD and Appeal to Reason to subscribers one year for 70 cents.

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SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

IN his work on the "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," Frederick Engels sums up the course of the class struggle, its several successive stages and the significance of each in the development of production in the following clear manner:

I. MEDIEVAL SOCIETY.—Small individual production. Means of production adapted to individual use; thence primitively inefficient and paltry, and dwarfish in their results. Production for the immediate consumption, either of the producer himself or of his feudal lord. Only there, where an excess of production over consumption takes place, is that excess offered for sale and falls into exchange. The production of "commodity" is in its incipency; but already it contains in embryo THE ANARCHY OF PRODUCTION IN SOCIETY AT LARGE.

II. CAPITALIST REVOLUTION.—Transformation of industry, first through simple co-operation and manufacture. Concentration of the hitherto scattered means of production in large workshops, and thereby, their transformation from individual into social means of production—a transformation that, on the whole does not affect the form of exchange. The old forms of appropriation remain in force. The CAPITALIST makes his appearance. In his capacity of owner of the means of production, he appropriates the products also, and turns them into "commodities." Production has become a social act. Exchange, and, together with it, appropriation remain individual acts, acts of the individual. THE SOCIAL PRODUCTS ARE APPROPRIATED BY THE INDIVIDUAL CAPITALIST. This is the fundamental contradiction from which arise all the contradictions in which present society moves and which production in gross brings to light:

A.—Severance of the producers from the means of production.

Condemnation of the worker to life-long wage-labor. CONTRAST BETWEEN PROLETARIAT AND CAPITALIST CLASS.

B.—Growing predominance and increasing effectiveness of the laws that govern the production of commodities. Unbridled competitive struggle. Contradiction between social organization in the separate factories, and social anarchy in production at large.

C.—On the one hand, perfection of machinery made by competition compulsory upon every individual manufacturer, and equivalent with ever increasing displacement of labor—the industrial RESERVE ARMY. On the other hand, boundless expansion and production, equally a compulsory law of competition to every manufacturer. On both hands unheard of development of productive forces, excess of supply over demand, overproduction, glutting of the markets, decennial crises, the vicious circle: here, a superabundance of products and means of production; yonder, a superabundance of workmen without employment and without means of existence. But these two forces of production and social well-being cannot combine because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive powers from operating and the products from circulating unless they first convert themselves into capital—a thing that their very superabundance prevents from being done. The contradiction has become an absurdity; THE MODE OF PRODUCTION REBELS AGAINST THE FORM OF EXCHANGE. The capitalist class is convicted of incapacity further to direct its own social powers of production.

D.—Partial recognition of the social character of the powers of production forced upon the capitalists themselves. Appropriation of the large organism of production and communication and transportation, first by STOCK COMPANIES, next by the STATE. The capitalist class shows itself to be superfluous; all its social functions are performed by hired employees.

III. PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.—Solution of the contradictions. The proletariat seizes the public power, and, with its aid, turns the power

of production, that have been slipping from the hands of the capitalist class, into public property. By this act it frees the means of production from their previous capitalist quality, and gives their social character full freedom to assert itself. Thenceforth, social production upon a pre-determined plan becomes possible. The development of production makes the continuance of several social classes an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in the production of society disappears, the political authority of the state becomes dormant. Man, finally master of his own form of social organization, becomes at the same time lord over nature—lord over himself—in short, free. To accomplish this work of universal emancipation is the historic mission of the modern proletariat. To investigate its historic conditions, thereby its nature itself, and thus to impart a consciousness of its own motion to that class that, oppressed to-day, is called upon to do the act—that is the task of the theoretic expression of the movement of the proletariat, i. e. of scientific Socialism.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

Many persons whose sympathies are with the cause of Socialism are heard to say that while they believe in it, it will never win. This is said without a knowledge of its growing power in the world. Below will be found the Socialist vote in those countries where the people have the elective franchise. A study of these figures should put faith and courage into all who believe in Socialism but say "it cannot win." The fact is that it is winning, its development is truly remarkable. Outside the countries named the movement is growing in like proportions.

AUSTRIA.	
1895.....	90,000
1897.....	750,000
BELGIUM.	
1894.....	334,500
1898.....	534,324
DENMARK.	
1872.....	315
1884.....	6,805
1887.....	8,408
1890.....	17,232
1892.....	20,098
1895.....	25,019
1898.....	32,000
FRANCE.	
1885.....	30,000
1888.....	91,000
1893.....	590,000
1898.....	1,000,000
GERMANY.	
1867.....	30,000
1871.....	101,927
1874.....	351,670
1877.....	486,843
1878.....	437,158
1881.....	311,961
1884.....	599,990
1887.....	763,128
1890.....	1,427,298
1893.....	1,786,738
1898.....	2,125,000
GREAT BRITAIN.	
1895.....	55,000
ITALY.	
1893.....	20,000
1895.....	76,400
1897.....	134,496
SERVIA.	
1895.....	50,000
SPAIN.	
1893.....	7,000
1895.....	14,800
1897.....	28,000
SWITZERLAND.	
1890.....	13,500
1893.....	29,822
1896.....	36,468
UNITED STATES.	
1890.....	13,704
1891.....	16,552
1892.....	21,512
1893.....	25,666
1894.....	30,020
1895.....	34,869
1896.....	36,275
1897.....	55,550
1898.....	91,749
TOTAL ESTIMATED STRENGTH.	
1898.....	5,000,000

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BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.

SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1899

COMPRACHICOS.

"A child destined to be the plaything of man."

SUCH a thing exists even now. In the age when the victim quivered, broken upon the wheel, and fagots gave "delicate ferocity" to the death of humanity's pioneers, children were bought and sold, and made the toys of charming ladies and well-bred men. Hunchbacks were made from well-formed children; their pliable facial features were distorted and made hideous. Squints, wrinkles and blotches were made, and they were misshapened and dwarfed. Those skilled in this art of making God's fair children malformed, monstrous, grim and ghastly, were called comprachicos. They destroyed lines of descent and furnished their wares of human cripples to royal courts to entertain and relieve the ennui of dull hours, as late as the seventeenth century.

When we behold these acts of the past we congratulate ourselves on our marvelous improvement, and then look about us and behold, the comprachicos are with us to-day! That men may live, children must be vivisected. A glorious civilization! Commissioner Wright of the Federal Labor Bureau calls attention to the Padrone system, and, upon investigation, the Chicago Tribune tells "a story of the slums, a tale of bitter bondage, of fiendish cruelty, of rapacious greed and a true representation of conditions on Tuesday, November 9, 1898."

And there has been no improvement in the last two years. Approaching a hovel on Ewing street, near Desplaines street in Chicago, no lights could be seen, but noisy gabble told of a noisy commotion within. Here in a squalid room lives a man with fifteen children in age ranging from 6 to 16 years; none of whom belonged to him. They were bought or leased from inhuman mothers and fathers, or stolen outright.

At another place the timely striking of a match revealed a room bare of furniture with the exception of a rickety cook stove, a rough pine table, a couple of chairs and some pallets of straw on the floor, on these little children were sleeping just as they had come in from the street, and the walls, ceiling and floor were filthy with dirt and the stench was stifling. These children must beg, earn, borrow or steal the amount fixed by the Padrone, as the stint, say 50 cents per day, or suffer beatings and food privation, and the children when spoken to are cowed into silence.

In December Captain Wheeler arrested Mosielli and Lucy his wife, for deliberately burning out the eyes of three children for begging purposes. "When the children were found they refused to say a word until cared for by a tender woman and the terrible story was coaxed out of them."

These children often late at night cry, snivel and shiver, afraid to return to the padrone until they have acquired the stint of the day's accumulations. Captain Wheeler says: "Here are many poor Italian families who have a surplus of children and when Feliz (a padrone) makes an offer to pay for the services of half a dozen or more he is hailed as a benefactor. The parents are relieved from feeding them and get a small sum for their use."

Once in the custody of the padrone he is practically their owner, and they, the children, are taught the one aim in life is to get money, and get it in same way they must, starvation and lash subjects them.

The nineteenth century has also its comprachicos.

A few days ago the Servite Sisters were charged with sending forth children in holy garb to beg. Says a Boston paper on March 11, 1899: "Elsie and Emma Woodward, aged three and one year respectively, while asleep in their home in Dorchester were bitten and eaten by sewer rats to such an extent that death came to their relief." They were found covered with blood.

When our little ones, the future free-born voting kings of America are not maimed to beg or be eaten in filthy homes by beasts of prey, there is another opening for them, the gates of the factory swing wide open and hellish mammon says: "Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not." According to the census of 1880, out of a little over 17 million engaged in industry, 1,118,356 were children under 15 years of age. In 1890 Pennsylvania alone had over 22,000, and the best authorities maintain that there has been a marked increase in the last 17 years.

They work upon cheap clothing, cigars, cotton goods, jewelry, rubber, silk, worsted, iron and steel, often long hours (90) per week.

The economic sphere of the child has changed as well as that of men and women. Says Mrs. Florence Kelly: "There was a time in the history of the country when every child was granted, as its birthright, ample time in which to grow to manhood or womanhood, and required to work only by the exigencies of family life on the paternal farm. That was in the early days before the capitalist system of production had developed in the new country, while work was still done chiefly for the products used and not exclusively for exchange and profit."

The children of the clothing makers of New York City begin work at four years of age. Their labor power being available, under the sweating system of tenement house manufacture, for picking out basting threads. They toil in factories where danger from fire is great, and where unguarded machinery like dragons mutilate, maim and murder. Their morals are often entirely perverted and destroyed.

Speaking of cotton mill operatives, says Commissioner Wright: "What are these women and children but the very weakest and most dependent of all the people. Young girls from 14 and upward learn more wickedness in one year than they would in five years out of the mill."

In view of the foregoing it seems strange that on each recurring opportunity which comes with each election so many will register a conviction favoring the perpetuation of a system which cannot appeal to their judgment, and which is only supported by their passions and prejudices.

People who employ children and support the system which maintains the employment of children will be looked upon in the future with no greater credit and no greater approval than the savage who lived by cannibalism and yet live, occasionally, upon the live sof those they subdue. The voices of children innocently plead for help; let men and women stand forth and curs seek their kennels.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

Send in brief report of your Branch work every week, and mail it on Saturday.

THE HERALD and Appeal to Reason, clubbed, for 70 cents a year.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE.

There are two classes of people who are especially harmful to the cause of progressive reform at this time.

One is the conservative optimist—the one who through personal ignorance or political design sees only the promise of present conditions, without recognizing the peril.

He is like a man who fixes his eye upon a tiny patch of blue sky, and cares nothing for the dark thunder cloud preparing to launch its lightning bolts and its fusillade of raindrops at him.

He is like the gay idler of Pompeii, who joked and laughed during the rumbling and sultriness that precedes the destruction of his city and himself.

The conservative optimist is one who mistakes the fever flush for the glow of health, and who thinks that the flushed fortunes of the rich necessarily implies a rosy outlook for national prosperity.

The other kind is the radical pessimist—the man who sees only the perils, and none of the promises, of industrial conditions.

He believes in the overthrow of the competitive system, but has no faith in the efficacy of co-operation, or the efficiency of co-operators.

He denounces the unjust oppression of moneyed might, but sees no hope of its repression by organized workingmen.

He believes in a co-operative commonwealth, but his pessimism pushes it so far ahead that it might as well be the New Jerusalem.

The radical pessimist is one who mistakes the decaying seed for the perished plant, and who does not recognize in the green shoot the prophecy of new and larger life.

He simply sees the decaying and corruption of the former fruits of liberty, and thinks that because they fall and sink into the earth and seemingly perish, that liberty is dead.

In natural evolution, death is the condition of progress.

Every brilliant flower must fade and wither and fall, before the larger life within it can be unfolded.

Every rosy apple must lose its color, and roundness, and become a pulpy mass of rotteness before the dozen apple trees in it can spread their fruit-laden arms out to new generations of mankind.

And so with social evolution. The fruits of freedom that have been shaken into America's lap from the tree of liberty that sprang up in '76, must themselves pass away before they can produce the fairy groves and lairer fruits of the co-operative commonwealth.

The protection of feudalism was better than the savagery of barbarism, but it passed away.

The possibilities of individual competition was better than the protected bondage of the feudal state, but it has well-nigh gone.

The systematization of capitalistic collectivism is better than distribution by small dealers at large profits, but it, too, must go.

We have reached the point now in industrial evolution when the co-operative ownership of all by all must replace the collective ownership of all by the few.

Socialism is simply an economic necessity, and Socialists are simply the prophets of an evolutionary epoch.

Socialism is not a reform rooster that is hatched out in the stuffy committee room of a petty party, and cooped up in a trade union hall, and fed on the scraps of government scandals and industrial injustice until it is strong enough and fierce enough to peck out the eyes of the American eagle, and to perch itself upon the banner of the republic.

It is instead the inevitable result of industrial tendencies, and the seed will sprout in spite of the pressure of the earth to keep it down.

Socialism is coming in spite even of that class of Socialists whose

party tribalism belies their belief in human brotherhood, and whose political methods assert the fallacy of the public ownership of even an idea.

Hence if Socialism is simply the outgrowth of the decaying competitive system, then the kind of man needed is the radical optimist.

He rejoices in the failure of competitive commercialism, and knows that its present failure is the symbol of the future success of the co-operative commonwealth.

He sees the present depression and destruction of small dealers as part of the unifying of industry by the trusts, preparatory to its operation by the people.

He knows that the seemingly cruel operation of amputation of the business class is but to save the social body from total death.

As a radical, he believes in the application of stringent remedies for a desperate disease.

As an optimist, he believes that these remedies will work their intended purpose.

So get thee on a livelier face, thou knight of the gruesome physiog.

The world isn't going to the devil, even if some of our countrymen are.

Go out into the woods these May days, and know that just as surely as the summer's life is pushing itself through the surface, so the new life of Socialism is daily penetrating the crust of custom, and sending forth its prophetic sprouts of eventual victory.

MERLIN.

What's the Matter

With Brockton?

Branch 9 held one of the most enthusiastic meetings it has yet held on Sunday evening, April 30.

This meeting was addressed by Rev. S. L. Beal, who made a most favorable impression.

Comrade Beal, who has been very much interested in our movement since its inception, but only recently joined the branch, demonstrated by his address that he is an earnest and sincere Socialist and one that will add very materially to the strength of the movement in Massachusetts.

Miss C. Fannie Allyn of Stoneham, Mass., also addressed this meeting and created a vast amount of enthusiasm.

Miss Allyn is also one of the recent acquisitions of Branch 9. She is a platform speaker of much experience, with a forceful and logical manner of getting at her audience that is irresistible.

A feature of these meetings, which we have introduced recently, is a short entertainment before the speaking. Little Miss Lowell, the bright little daughter of Comrade Lowell, of Whitman Branch, furnished the entertainment on Sunday, April 23, and Edward Morrill on April 30th, each of whom met with great applause.

At the business meeting, Tuesday evening, ten more were added to the list of hustlers who are destined to cause cold chills to agitate the would-be politicians of this city, who are already beginning to ask themselves if Brockton will be spelled "Haverhill" next fall.

Judging from the demand for seats, the meeting of May 14th to be addressed by Mary E. Lease, will be a huge success.

The band was formally endorsed by the branch at this meeting, and proper action taken to help it supplied with up-to-date music. Now if some comrade will write a Socialist march we will be in it.

The buttons designed by Comrade Drake have arrived, and judging from the eagerness of all who see them to secure one, I should say they were about the right thing.

We are very much pleased with the design and believe it deserves adoption as the national button.

Oh yes, Branch 9 is moving all the time and we propose to keep it up all summer, too. It means lots of hard work, but we are not in this movement for our individual health but the health and happiness of all mankind in the "Good Time Coming."

C. H. COULTER.

COMRADE LONDON AT HAVERHILL.

No meeting of the city council has taken place since my last letter, but both branches meet this week and we may have something of interest to tell you in my next letter.

We held a very successful meeting in City Hall, Sunday evening, April 30th, at which Comrade M. L. London, of New York City, delivered a lecture on "Historical Socialism." The weather during the day had been intensely warm, the setting of the sun did not seem to lessen the heat to any extent, as the slight breeze with which we were favored in the afternoon had died away; but notwithstanding the heat and the charm that the first warm evenings of spring hold for the average worker to keep him out doors, between 600 and 700 people assembled in the hall shortly after 7 o'clock. The meeting was opened by our venerable Comrade Whitney, rendering a cello solo, accompanied on a piano. Mr. Whitney is an artist and the beautiful music he rendered was greatly appreciated by the audience. Comrade Chase, acting as chairman, after a few remarks introduced Comrade London, who spoke on the subject named above. The speaker, after graphically describing existing conditions, traced the movement of Socialism from the earliest period of which we bore record until the present time, showing the ideas of the different great men who have championed the cause of humanity and progress and tracing the evolution of the movement through its different stages until we arrive at our present time. Our New York Comrade gave us a very interesting and instructive address; he spoke for about an hour and a half, and when he resumed his seat, the audience showed their appreciation by prolonged applause. Comrade Whitney favored us with another solo, but that was not enough, and as the clapping of hands would not cease, he had to emerge again from the ante-room and go over it all again.

Comrade Carey spoke next and said he had a few things to say which might be politics or not. He said there was no better day than the best in the week to defend the rights of the people. He spoke of the treatment which his bills received at the hands of the political antiquities at the state house. He dwelt at some length on the grade crossing matter. The bill regarding coercion, and also spoke of other matters of local interest. Of course I need not tell you about the applause, because that could not be helped. Altogether our meeting was a grand success and the old partyites who prophesied that the fade or fever of Socialism would soon wear out should have been there last night.

The State Committee have had published Comrade Carey's speech on Child Labor and also an address he delivered a few months ago. (See ad. in Herald). Those of us who are not in a position so we can attend the sessions of the legislature—and we are many—should not fail to read our Comrade's effort in defense of the children of ours, the working class.

To the misrepresentatives of labor, the tools and mouth-pieces of plutocracy, that speech came as a warning. They heeded it not, but pursued the same course as have their prototypes of the past, and they will meet the same fate; their reign is drawing to a close and ours will soon begin. Let them make the most of it for time is short.

I would urge every one of our branches to secure copies of these pamphlets, they are an excellent means for propaganda-work. They show what Social Democrats will do and how they stand for the rights of the people. They should go into every state in the union that the people may know how here in Massachusetts we are fighting their battles.

Our literary committee received 500 copies and they sold in a few days. We are getting more, and it will soon be hard to find an intelligent workingman who has not read them. Fraternally

C. A. FRAZER.

AMONG THE BRANCHES.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Branch Meetings inserted for the month.

Colorado.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party meets every Sunday evening at 8 p. m. at the California street, Denver, Colo., 5 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs, Secretary; Mrs. Ida Mercer, Secretary, 200 Washington street.

Connecticut.

Branch 3 (Conn.) meets every 3rd Sunday in the month, at St. George's Hall, 363 Chapel street, cor. Church street, at 3 p. m. Wm. Haven, Secretary; Cornelius Harvey, 165 Franklin street.

Illinois.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thos. Kirwin, Secretary.

Branch 2, Chicago, Ill., Bohemian, meets every Sunday at 2 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island ave.

Branch 3, Chicago, Ill., meets 1st and 3rd Sunday afternoon of each month at Bohemian American School Lad Karel cor. 19th and Leavitt sts. Secretary Frank Out, 866 W. 18th st.

Branch 6, Chicago, Ill., German, meets 2nd and 4th Monday at 8 p. m. at 535 Blue Island st.

Indiana.

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and Sunday afternoon of each month at Beichweil's Hall, corner Main and Noble streets, Indianapolis. J. W. Bern, Secretary.

Maryland.

Branches Nos. 1 and 2, Maryland, meet every Sunday at 8 p. m., at Carpenter's Hall, 66 E. Baltimore street. Public Invited.

Massachusetts.

Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Organizer, H. Schlichting, 20 James street.

Branch 3, Lynn, Mass., holds business meeting first Sunday of each month, at 12 o'clock, room, at W. C. T. U. Hall, corner Oxford and Washington streets. E. W. Timony, 21 Albany st., Fin Sec. Treasurer. Notice of agitation meetings will appear in THE HERALD and local papers. Public invited.

Branch 4, (Mass) Brockton, meets Sunday at 7 p. m., in Cutters Hall, Clark's block, cor. of Main and Center streets. Every member expected to attend at least one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, 362 West Elm street, Secretary.

Branch 15, Massachusetts—East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m., at 99 Chelsea st. A. L. Sweeney, 181 Webster st., Sec.

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 7:30 p. m., at 164 Washington street, Boston. All communications and moneys intended for the Massachusetts State Committee should be sent to the secretary, Margaret Hallie, 1 Glenwood st., Roxbury.

Missouri.

Missouri State Central Committee meets every Thursday at 8 p. m., at Room 7, International Bank Building, 20 and 22 N. Fourth street, St. Louis. Organizer Anna F. Smith, 405 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis City Central Committee meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at Room 7, 22 N. Fourth street. Secretary, Albert E. Sanderson, 425 N. Newstead avenue.

St. Louis Third Ward Branch (1st Mo.) meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., at 1223 N. Broadway. Organizer, A. F. Haussler, 1223 N. Broadway.

St. Louis Twelfth Ward Branch (2nd Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday at 2 p. m., and every 3rd Sunday at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, cor. Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, A. Langbird, 2130 Tennessee ave.

St. Louis Ninth Ward Branch (3rd Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Rhine Hall, 13th and Wyoming streets. Organizer, Charles F. Meier, 3094 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis Tenth Ward Branch (4th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Sunday at 9:30 a. m., at Vitt's Hall, Broadway and Kokook sts. Organizer, Francis J. Krause, 324 Michigan avenue.

St. Louis First Ward Branch (5th Mo.) meets every 2d Sunday, at 8 p. m., at 489 N. Broadway. Organizer, Julius Baumenhal, 457 Cowan street.

St. Louis Second Ward Branch (6th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Social Turner Hall, corner 13th and Monte streets. Organizer, H. J. Stelgerwalt, 112 Chamber street.

Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union ave., Kansas City. S. J. Storz, 1330 W. 9th street, Sec.

St. Louis Twentieth Ward Branch (8th Mo.) meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 160 St. Ferdinand avenue. Organizer, Joseph C. Hartshorn, 350 St. Ferdinand ave.

St. Louis Sixth Ward Branch (9th Mo.) meets every Wednesday, at 8 p. m., at 1061 South Twelfth street. Organizer John Zach, 1061 South 12th street.

St. Louis Eighth Ward Branch (10th Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday, at 2 p. m., and every 3d Sunday, at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, corner Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, L. P. Tomsen, 361 South 7th street.

St. Louis Thirteenth Ward Branch (11th Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday at 2 p. m., and every 3d Sunday, at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, Oliver A. Nelson, 1316 West 4th avenue.

St. Louis Nineteenth ward Branch (12th Mo.) meets every Saturday, at 8 p. m., at 101 Warner avenue. Organizer G. Gandler, 101 N. 20th street.

New York.

East Side Branch No. 1, New York, meets every 1st and 3d Thursday at 112 Clifton st. Secretary, A. Guyer, 163 Suffolk st.

Branch No. 2, New York, meets at William Forward Club Rooms, 107 Forsyth st. Business meetings second and fourth Tuesdays. Discussion meetings first and third Tuesdays of each month. New York City Secretary, Louis Palewski, 357 East 12th st.

Branch No. 10 (4th Ass. Dist.) New York, meets every second and fourth Friday of each month, at the Club Rooms of the "Home of Labor," 107 Henry street. Nicholson, Secretary, 351 Madison st.

Branch 3, New York, (24th Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of each month at 324 E. 54th st. L. Funcke, 289 N. 15th st., Sec.

Special Notice.

A joint meeting of the members of the branches of the Social Democratic party in Greater New York is hereby called to meet at Wilzig's hall, 85 E. 4th street, on Saturday, May 13th, at 8 p. m. Every member of the party is urged to be present as matters of special importance to the party in this city will be discussed and acted upon. E. H. THOMAS, Secretary.

Baltimore, Md.

Comrades at Baltimore were greatly disappointed in not being able to get help from outside speakers in the municipal campaign through which they have just passed. They conducted their canvass unaided by a single speaker, except those in the local branch, with the following result: For mayor—Backman, 280. For pres. city council—Jacobson, 280. For comptroller—Wenzell, 291.

Nashua, N. H.

It is proposed to hold Sunday afternoon meetings at the 5 cent limit on the Nashua and Lowell street railroad.

The widely-heralded fact that wages have been slightly advanced in the New England cotton mills has brought hundreds of French Canadians to this city seeking work; they find jobs scarce, however, and, in their desperation, they offer to work at unheard of low prices. In justice to the employers, he said the orders have been given to give residents the preference in applications for employment.

New looms are being put in the cotton mill weaving rooms; one girl is expected to run 18; one girl now runs 6 of the present looms. With the foreign immigrant squeezing them on one side and the labor-saving machine on the other, it is a rather difficult matter for the mill operative to figure out where their share of the "prosperity" comes in. AGUINALDO.

Manchester, N. H.

At a regular meeting of Branch 3 held May 5, the following comrades were elected:

Chairman, Norman C. Smith; vice-chairman, E. S. Cowan; secretary, M. J. McDermott; treasurer, John Cahill; organizer, F. G. R. Gordon; delegates to city committee, T. F. McCarthy and Peter Winnie. Last week this branch took in 16 new members.

At a meeting of the city committee held April 30, at Comrade Levan's house, it was thought best that a delegate convention be held sometime in June. The purpose of this convention is to organize a state committee and get our forces in working order.

A report of the secretary of the State Grange shows that in the past two years several hundred of the proletarians have engaged in farming. Over 700 of the abandoned farms having been bought within the past four months.

F. G. R. GORDON.

CALL FOR CONVENTION.

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Please take notice that the annual State Convention of the S. D. P. of Massachusetts will be held Sunday, May 28, 1899, at 10 a. m., at 724 Washington street, Boston, for the purpose of nominating a state ticket for the fall campaign of 1899, and for the transaction of such other business as may come before the convention.

MARGARET HAILE, Secretary State Committee.

Attention, St. Louis Comrades.

A joint meeting of all St. Louis branches will be held on Sunday, May 21, 1899, at 2 p. m., at Aschenbroedel hall, 604 Market street. A full attendance is requested.

ALBERT E. SANDERSON, Secretary City Central Committee.

We will send THE HERALD and Appeal to Reason to subscribers one year for 70 cents.

GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD.

Rosa Proletaire.

Some Arguments on the Demands for Farmers.

Will the Farmers be Helped by them?

BROTHER JOHN:—Our "Farmer's Platform." What is it? A series of reform propositions to help the farmers! What else? Well, let us look at it for a few moments. If it is good, we'll stick to it. If it is not good, we better get rid of it without much ceremony.

I know little about farming—just enough to distinguish a pitchfork from a plough. Nevertheless, I shall not hide my light under the bushel. Comrades Gordon and Martin have somewhat encouraged me, for neither of them is a farmer, although Martin claims to be a "butter maker by trade."

Is our farmers' platform reactionary? Is it revolutionary? Is it progressive? Is it conservative? Our declaration of principles is revolutionary. Why? The S. D. P. demands the abolition of the capitalist wage and profit system. "Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people."

"The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule." This means complete revolution of the existing order of society!

Knowing that such a radical reconstruction of society cannot be brought about within 24 hours; knowing that the development of society is governed by economic laws, and that the re-organization of society on a collective basis cannot be brought about as long as the people are not educated on Socialist lines, the Social Democratic Party puts forth a number of demands for reforms under the capitalist system, as for instance: Revision of the U. S. constitution, public ownership of railroads, public ownership of mines, reduction in the hours of labor, etc.

These demands are "steps in this direction" i. e., in the direction of the socialization of the means of production. The demand for shorter hours of labor is progressive but not revolutionary; so are labor legislation, initiative and referendum, etc. While our declaration of principles is revolutionary, our social-political demands are merely progressive, reformatory. The efforts put forth to realize these reform demands may accelerate the days of the social revolution, because the very agitation of these reform measures by a well organized Social Democratic Party representing the political power of the labor movement, will strengthen the proletariat and weaken the power of capitalism.

Now as to the farmer's platform. "The Social Democratic Party of America does not hope for the establishment of a social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end." Let us look at this more closely. Brother John, I am not one of those who erroneously believe that the masses must first be despairingly pauperized before any change for the better is possible. Nevertheless, I hold the above lines to be confusing. It cannot be denied that without the increase of misery Socialism would have gained very little ground in this or any other country. It certainly was not prosperity that induced the shoe workers of Haverhill to affiliate with the Socialist movement; it is not prosperity that induces millions of wage-workers all over the world to join the grand army of Socialism.

Socialism—the idea of a new social order—is not an utopian dream but an economic necessity. Let us not hide the fact that before a new social order can be established many hundreds of thousands of small business men and middle class farmers will yet be thrown into the abyss of bankruptcy and ruin—all your carefully gathered middle class statistics notwithstanding. It is this ever-increasing misery of the millions of the people side by side with the increasing wealth and luxury of the ruling classes that will arouse the more intelligent elements of the wage-working class and the few thinking, honest middle class elements, to action and cause them to prepare for self-protection and self emancipation.

All we can do is to call attention to the misery, point out the causes thereof, tell the people how to bring about a change for the better, how to abolish the causes that have produced it. At any rate, the above clause is very unfortunately expressed.

"The united efforts of the workers of both city and country." Do you mean the wage-workers? Or the small farmers? If you mean the small farmer, then you must also include the small businessman in the city, for like the farmer the middle class businessman has to work 12 and 15 hours a day in order to sustain life, pay rent, etc. The middle class business man is bankrupt—he is very often in worse condition than the wage worker that earns \$9 a week. So is the bankrupt farmer, he may be even worse off than the hired man that works for him. But this bankruptcy, this inability to compete with the rich industrial or agricultural capitalist does not prove that the class interest of the middle class farmer are the same as the interests of the wage working class.

In city and country the middle classes are in a most deplorable condition. They need help. How are you going to help them? By public land to be leased to them in small parcels of not over 640 acres the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation."

Will this help the farmers? As a Socialist I am in favor of helping the farmers, and I am not a bit afraid that a little improvement in the farmers' deplorable condition would postpone indefinitely the social revolution. Not over 640 acres! Say, for instance, the farmer leases 50 acres, i. e., about enough for himself, for one man or one family, to cultivate. Do you believe for one moment that this would improve his condition? It would just be sufficient to chain him to his "parcel" of land. Eternal slavery, hard work, would be his lot. Imagine one family on an American farm raising its own necessities of life!

Or the man takes the extreme limit and leases 640 acres of land. He alone cannot cultivate this land. He has to have help. He employs men and he must begin to produce for the market—for profit. He employs wage labor, and as employer he must hire his help as cheap as possible. Whether he, personally, is making much by this transaction is immaterial; the fact remains that the 640 acres lease compels him to become an exploiter of labor.

In modern labor exploitation there is little sentimentalism. And I think in the country it is little different from the conditions in the city. Here is a rich boss baker. He employs 25 men in a large bread factory; the men get small wages and work 11 hours a day. Across the street is a small baker, he employs two "hands," they get still smaller wages, and work 15, 18 and 20 hours a day. The small boss baker himself is a poor creature; he is no better off than his men; he needs help. Yet his very economic condition compels him to exploit his workmen at least 40 per

[CONCLUDED ON EIGHTH PAGE.]

Social Democratic Party Platform

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes, with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.
2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.
3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.
4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.
5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.
6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.
7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.
8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.
9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.
10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.
11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.
12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.
The Social Democratic Party of

America does not hope for the establishment of social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end. In view of this we adopt the following platform for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city:

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the state directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.

2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers, at cost.

3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be united, that every post and railroad station shall also be a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.

4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.

5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

S. D. P. AND TRADE UNIONISM.
"Whereas, We hold the trade union movement to be indispensable to the working people under the prevailing industrial system in their struggle for the improvement of their conditions, as well as for the final abolition of the wage system; we need further recognition among the workers; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we commend an honest co-operation to that end by the members of the Social Democratic Party of America, by becoming members of the unions in their respective trades or callings, or of the Federal Labor Unions, and strive to organize all such trades as have heretofore not been organized and assist the organization of labor in every way possible.

"Resolved, That in order to more effectively resist the encroachments upon labor we advise organized labor to combine into national and international unions, pledging ourselves to extend to them all possible assistance to accomplish this end.

"Resolved, That we reaffirm the truth expressed in the proceedings of the International Labor Congress, held in London in August, 1896, that while it is absolutely necessary for the working people to make use of the political power in order to secure and enforce the demands of labor, yet differences of political views held by members of the labor organizations should not be a reason for separate organization in the economic struggle, causing dissensions and disruptions.

"Resolved, That we consider strikes and boycotts as historically necessary weapons to obtain the demands of trades unionism; we further recognize in the union label an important factor in strengthening the power of organization, and educating the public to demonstrate in a practical way its sympathy and assistance to the cause of labor; and we therefore indorse all the labels of the bona fide trades unions, earnestly recommending to the membership of the Social Democratic Party of America to patronize only such concerns selling products bearing the same.

"Resolved, That we condemn the attempt to disrupt the labor movement by organizing rival unions to the bona fide trades unions.

"Resolved, That we encourage the movement of organized labor for the establishment of a legal eight-hour workday and the Saturday half holiday.

"Resolved, That we condemn the modern white slavery of the sweating system."

"The instrument of labor, when it takes the form of a machine, immediately becomes a competitor of the workman himself." Karl Marx.

REPORT YOUR BRANCH NEWS WEEKLY.

Constitution of Local Branches

NAME AND LOCATION.

Section 1. This organization, located at _____, County of _____, shall be known as Local Branch No. _____ of _____ of the Social Democratic Party of America, and shall hold a charter duly issued by the National Council, which may be suspended or reclaimed by the National Executive Board in case of violation of the laws, principles or regulations of the organization.

MEMBERSHIP.

Sec. 2. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of this organization shall be eligible to membership.

Sec. 3. A local branch shall consist of not less than five nor more than 500 members, _____ members constituting a quorum.

Sec. 4. A person desiring membership shall make application to a local branch, recommended by a member of said branch, and if accepted by a majority vote shall be enrolled as a member.

Sec. 5. A member may be transferred from one local branch to another by obtaining from the secretary a transfer card and depositing the same with the secretary of the branch desired to be joined.

Sec. 6. A member in good standing may terminate his or her membership by obtaining from the secretary a card of withdrawal.

Sec. 7. Each member shall be entitled to a card of membership, such card to be furnished by the National Council and issued to members by the secretary of the local branch.

DUES AND FEES.

Sec. 8. The admission fee, which shall accompany each application for membership, shall be such an amount as may be determined by the local branch, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents to be forwarded to the National Council.

Sec. 9. At the close of each meeting the treasurer shall transmit to the National Council the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their postoffice addresses and a remittance by postal money order of their admission fee.

Sec. 10. The dues of a member shall be payable quarterly in advance, on or before the first day of January, April, July and October, in such an amount as the local branch may determine; provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents per quarter to be forwarded to the National Council. A member admitted on or before the middle of the quarter shall pay dues for the full quarter; a member admitted after the middle of the quarter shall be exempt for said quarter.

Sec. 11. On or before the 5th day of each quarter the treasurer shall remit by postal money order the quarterly dues for the current quarter to the National Council and each local branch shall remit the full amount due for the entire membership of the branch.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 12. The Executive Board shall consist of five (5) members, elected annually in March, and shall have general supervision of the local branch. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures, subject to the local branch, as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

Sec. 13. The officers of the Board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and organizer, and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices and as the local branch may direct. The Board shall hold stated meetings in March of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 14. Any member of the Board may be removed by a majority vote of the local branch; provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. Vacancies in the Board shall be filled by the local branch.

Sec. 15. No member of the Board

shall hold political office except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 16. The local branch shall hold meetings at such times as the members may determine.

Sec. 17. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March, the officers shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices for the preceding year.

JURISDICTION.

Sec. 18. Local branches shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the State Union and National Council, and the State Union shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the National Council.

ELECTIONS.

Sec. 19. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March an Executive Board of five (5) members and representatives to the State Union shall be elected, who shall serve for one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

BY-LAWS.

Sec. 20. A local branch may adopt such laws as a majority may determine; provided they do not conflict with the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

TRIALS.

Sec. 21. Any member violating the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of a local branch; provided that any charges against a member shall be preferred in writing and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial.

APPEALS.

Sec. 22. Any member having been suspended or expelled may appeal to the Executive Board of the state, and if the decision of that body is not satisfactory he may appeal to the Executive Board of the National Council.

AMENDMENTS.

Sec. 23. The constitution of local branches, State Unions and the National Council is the organic law of the organization, and can be altered or amended only by the National Council in meeting assembled or by the general organization through the Initiative and Referendum.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Sec. 24. Upon application of 5 per cent of the membership any matter relating to the amendment of the constitution, the calling of a special meeting of a State Union or the National Council, or the removal of an officer, state or national, shall be submitted to a direct vote of the membership, through the Initiative and Referendum and a majority vote shall determine the result.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

The definitions of the two words "Social" and "Democratic" which follow, are taken from Webster's Dictionary:

SOCIAL—Pertaining to society or to the public as an aggregate body, as social interests, etc.

DEMOCRATIC—Pertaining to Democracy; i. e., Movement by the people * * * in which the supreme power is lodged in the hands of the people collectively, or in which the people exercise the power of legislation.

SOCIALISM—No movement of modern times has awakened or deserved greater attention than the one indicated by this title. In general it may be described as that movement which seeks by economic changes to destroy the existing inequalities of the world's social conditions. The growth of Socialism in this country has been rapid and will probably keep pace with the just causes of discontent."—Encycloped Britannica; American Supplement.

65 SOCIALISTS and reformers—Biographical sketches of German, English and American leaders—Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Bebel, Ruskin, Morris, Hyndman, Blatchford, Bellamy, Gronlund, Casson, Wayland, Stetson, Sprague, Vail, Debs, Carey, Edwards, Gordon, Berger and others, with 43 Photo Engravings. A souvenir handbook, 50 pages, 8x11. While they last will mail at 50 cents per copy if you mention the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

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Social Democratic Party of America.

Organized June 11, 1898.
OBJECT—The Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution, through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

Where Trades Unionists will find the S. D. P.

The trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

—Social Democratic Party Platform

Social Democratic Party of America.

Constitution of National Council.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located at such place as the Executive Board may decide upon.

HOW ORGANIZED.

Sec. 2. The Social Democratic Party of America shall be organized as follows:

1st. Local branches limited to 500 members each.

2d. State Unions before state convention of 1900 shall be composed of one representative from each local branch; provided that branches having more than twenty-five members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional twenty-five members or major part thereof, after which each state shall provide its own method of organization.

3d. A National Council composed of one representative from each state and territory; provided that states having more than 500 members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional 500 members or major part thereof.

4th. An Executive Board of five members.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 3. The Executive Board shall be elected quadrennially by the National Council; having general supervision of the organization and be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization; provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with the constitution and declaration of principles.

Sec. 4. A National Secretary, Treasurer and Editor of the national organ (and such other officers as may be required) shall be elected every four years, and their salaries fixed by the Executive Committee, to be approved by the direct vote of the members through the referendum.

Sec. 5. Members of the Executive Board shall receive no compensation for their services. They shall hold stated meetings on the second Tuesday in May of each year, and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 6. A majority of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

Sec. 7. Any member of the Board may be removed by a majority vote of all the members of the organization as hereinafter provided.

Sec. 8. Any member of the Board, or National officer may be removed at any time by the National Council as hereinafter provided.

Sec. 9. No member shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 10. All questions not provided for in this constitution and all questions of appeal shall be decided by the chairman, such decision to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the Board.

Sec. 11. At each annual meeting the officers of the Board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

REVENUES AND FUNDS.

Sec. 12. The revenue of the organization shall be derived from an admission fee of twenty-five (25) cents and dues of twenty-five (25) cents, payable quarterly in advance for each member.

Sec. 13. The funds of the organization shall be deposited in such bank or banks as the board may direct and the National Secretary and Treasurer shall be required to execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties for such an amount as the board may require.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

Sec. 14. The National Councils shall meet annually on the first Tuesday in May at such place as the Executive Board may determine, subject to change by referendum vote. The chairman of the Executive Board shall preside over its deliberations.

Sec. 15. The National Council shall constitute the legislative body of the organization and shall be empowered to enact all general legislation, subject to referendum hereinafter provided. It shall determine the policy, and do all other things required to

carry out the general objects of the organization.

OFFICIAL PAPER.

Sec. 16. This organization shall publish an official paper, under the supervision of the Executive Board, which shall be known as the Social Democratic Herald. Each member of the organization shall be entitled to a copy of the official paper in consideration of the payment of quarterly dues.

Sec. 17. The columns of the official organ shall be open at all times to reasonable criticism and discussion of party matters by members of the party.

Sec. 18. The National conventions of the organization shall be held quadrennially on the first Tuesday in May, at such place as may be determined by the National Council.

REFERENDUM.

Sec. 19. The members of the Executive Board may be removed by the imperative mandate in the following manner: Any three members of the National Council may demand the resignation of any member of the National Executive Board, by filing a petition with the secretary of said Executive Committee; and upon said secretary's neglect or refusal to act upon said petition within five days after filing the same, then by filing a petition with the chairman of the said Executive Board; and upon the said chairman's neglect or refusal to act, by filing such petition with three members of the National Council, other than the petitioners, who shall act as a committee for the purpose of receiving and acting as herein provided.

Such petition shall contain a statement in writing, setting forth fully and at large the grounds upon which the recall is demanded. Such officers or committee with whom such petition is filed shall forthwith deliver a copy thereof to the person whose recall is demanded, if such person can be found; and said person shall have the right to answer such petition in writing, which said answer shall be mailed by registered letter to the officer or committee holding said petition within fifteen (15) days from the receipt by the person whose recall is desired of the copy of the petition required to be delivered to him.

The petitioners shall be served forthwith by registered letter from the officer or committee holding the petition with a copy of said answer, and such petitioners shall have the right to file, with such officer or committee, a replication to such answer within ten (10) days after receipt of such copy.

Thereupon the said officer or committee holding said petition shall mail a complete copy of the proceedings to the person whose recall is sought, and five (5) days thereafter said officer or committee shall mail to each member of the National Council a complete copy of all the proceedings and shall demand a vote of each member of the National Council thereon.

All proceedings shall be open to the inspection of any member of the National Council at all times. The time for filing the answer and replication may be extended by the officer or chairman of the committee holding such petition for ten (10) days; and such answer may be amended at any time to meet the allegation of the replication.

Recall of a member of the Executive Committee shall not affect the standing of such member as a member of the National Council.

RECALL OF OFFICERS.

Sec. 20. The selection of the National Secretary and Editor shall be announced for approval or rejection in the official organ, the Social Democratic Herald, within fifteen (15) days from the selection of said officers, and each member shall have a vote thereon, to be sent by the secretary of his local branch to the chairman of the Executive Board, the vote to be announced in the official paper and the polls shall close twenty (20) days after the date calling for the referendum.

Sec. 21. The National Secretary-Treasurer or the Editor may be removed or discharged by the National Council or the Executive Board, but if the said National officers shall be

so removed or discharged they may appeal the case to the members of the organization by stating the grounds of protest, serving a copy on the chairman and secretary of the National Council and the Executive Board, the same not to occupy more than two columns of the official paper, an equal space to be given the Council or Executive to state their side of the controversy; the votes shall be mailed to any member of the Council or Executive Board the petitioner may designate; the petitioner shall be entitled to representation at the count of ballots, and the polls shall close twenty (20) days after the date of the publication of the referendum.

Sec. 22. The question shall be: "Shall the action of the Executive Board (or the National Council, as the case may be,) be sustained?" and if the vote of the members does not confirm the action the petitioner shall then be reinstated.

Sec. 23. The National Executive Board (or any member of it); the National Secretary-Treasurer or the Editor may be removed by the members of the organization in the following manner: A petition indorsed by 5 per cent of the members shall be filed with the chairman of the Executive Board, who shall cause the same to be submitted to a referendum vote within ten (10) days; should said chairman fail to do this, then any five branches, by official action at a regular meeting, shall have power to call for said vote and the same, after due hearing of both sides as provided in section 21, shall be taken.

Constitution of State Unions.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the — State Union of the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located as the union may determine.

HOW ORGANIZED.

Sec. 2. The — State Union of the Social Democratic Party of America shall consist of delegates representing local branches in this state, and shall constitute the legislative body of the state.

Sec. 3. The Executive Board shall consist of five members and shall have general supervision of the State Union. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution, the constitution of the National Council or the declaration of principles.

Sec. 4. The officers of the Board shall consist of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting of the Board and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices, and for their services shall receive such compensation as the State Union may determine. The Board shall hold stated meetings in April of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 5. A majority of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

Sec. 6. Any member of the Board may be removed by a majority vote of all the members, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. The Board shall be authorized to fill all vacancies.

Sec. 7. Any member of the Board may be removed at any time by the State Union.

Sec. 8. No member of the Board shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 9. All questions not provided for in the constitution, and all questions of appeal from local branches, shall be decided by the chairman, such decisions to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the Board.

Sec. 10. At each annual meeting the officers of the Board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

REVENUES.

Sec. 11. The revenues of the organization shall be derived from such sources as the State Union may determine.

THE STATE UNION.

Sec. 12. The State Union shall meet annually at such place as its members may determine, in April.

The chairman of the Executive Board shall preside over its deliberations. The secretary of the Executive Board shall serve as secretary of the State Union and keep a correct record of its proceedings, submitting a copy of the same to each local branch in the state.

Sec. 13. At each annual meeting of the State Union an Executive Board of five members and representatives to the National Council shall be elected, who shall serve one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

Sec. 14. The State Union shall enact such laws as may be necessary, determine the policy of the state organizations and do all other things required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action is taken inconsistent with this constitution, the constitution of the National Council or the declaration of principles.

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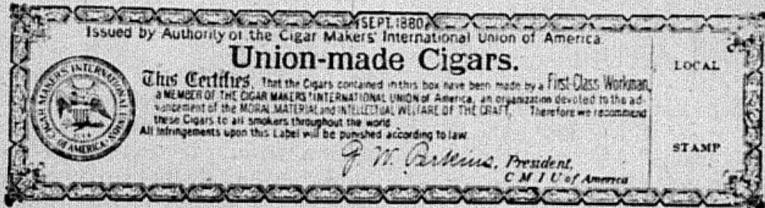
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WORLD OF LABOR.

INTERNATIONAL.

LONDON, ENGLAND.

London Justice writes: "Every week makes it more manifest that the whole force of modern capitalist policy is toward 'Colonial expansion' and market-hunting, the chief fields for the moment being Africa and China. The Turkish empire will come in time, and before long, too, but first of all Africa and China have to be got under way."

WARSAW, RUSSIA.

The editor of a local paper and his St. Petersburg correspondent have been arrested on the charge of having published a copy of a confidential administration report from the governor of Vilwa to the Czar. Both men will be deported to Siberia to serve long sentences of penal servitude imposed on them by the criminal court of Warsaw.

PARIS, FRANCE.

Our comrades of the "Parti Ouvrier" have been successful in the municipal bye-elections at Magenta and Ay. At the first named place all three Socialist candidates were elected in the first ballot; at Ay, of four candidates two were elected in the first ballot, and there is little doubt that in the second ballot the other two will also be elected.

WESTHAM, ENGLAND.

The Gas Workers' Union, by a vote of 990 against 569 decided in favor of nominating Comrade William Thorne as Parliamentary candidate for the Westham district. Thorne will undoubtedly have the undivided support of the Social Democratic Federation and the Independent Labor party.

CARLSBAD, AUSTRIA.

Nearly 200 bricklayers and other building trades workers are on a strike. Collisions have taken place between the strikers and the police. Some of the strike leaders have been arrested.

BERNE SWITZERLAND.

The Metal Workers' Union of Switzerland held its annual convention in this city and decided to demand the nine-hour workday in 1900.

TURIN, ITALY.

Comrade Morgari, Socialist member of the Chamber of Deputies, has been sentenced to 116 days of imprisonment for alleged "instigation to class hatred."

ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA.

In the mining district of Froigk, in Russian Poland 62 miners were killed in the sudden break of a wall in a gold mine.

ODESSA, RUSSIA.

Misery is increasing in the rural districts. In the Kasaw province the Red Cross society is caring alone for 132,000 starving people.

VIENNA, AUSTRIA.

Ten thousand textile workers are out on a strike in Brunn to enforce the demand for a ten-hour workday.

NATIONAL.

The following flowers are gathered from Mark Hanna's "Prosperity farm":

WARDNER, IDAHO.—Miners on a strike. 400 soldiers upholding "law and order." Gatling guns ready for use.

ST. LOUIS, MO.—Plasterers on a strike. Machinists' strike continues.

TRENTON, N. J.—No change in the general glass blowers' strike. The fight seems to become weary and hot.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—Bricklayers held national convention here. Will demand shorter hours.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Florence Kelly, before the Industrial Commission, said that many children in the Chicago sweat-shops worked for the first year for nothing, with the promise of a dollar a week at the end of that time, and ultimately perhaps \$3 to \$4 per week when they had reached the top of the ladder in their line.

Socialism in Massachusetts.

Report of Representatives Carey and Scates.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Boston, April 29, 1899.

TO THE COMRADES:—Since last we reported through THE HERALD to the comrades throughout the country, many important matters have been considered. While we may fail to send a report to our official paper, we do not fail to report weekly to the Haverhill comrades and to receive their instructions.

We voted for a bill to lessen the hours of labor of women and minors, which was reported adversely by the committee on labor; the bill was defeated. The same committee reported favorably upon a bill to lower the age of employment of children, under certain conditions, from 14 to 13 years. Carey spoke against the bill and it was rejected.

Upon a bill to permit cities and towns voting no license, to establish dispensaries for the sale of alcohol and liquors for medicinal purposes, we voted yes; the bill was defeated.

A bill to establish a uniform rate of wages and hours for laborers on public works given out to contract, we voted yes; it was carried by 3 votes, but was defeated in the senate.

Upon an order providing for the printing and distribution of a stenographic report taken by the Boston Elevated Railroad Company of testimony given in support of a grant to said company, Carey spoke against and we voted no. The order was defeated.

Upon the bill transferring to the city council the control of the Newburyport Water Commission (at present a separate department), we voted, yes; carried, 76 yes, 67 no.

Upon a bill regulating and increasing the width of tires on wagons, we voted, yes; carried.

Upon a bill placing the telephone companies under control of the State, Carey spoke in favor upon two stages of the bill. It was passed to the last stage, when it was defeated. We supported it at every stage.

Upon a bill requiring street railway companies to enclose the platforms of their cars during the cold weather, we voted, yes. It passed the House.

Both of us spoke against the bill introduced by certain capitalists and politicians of Haverhill to head off our boys in the Haverhill city council from abolishing grade crossings. On the second reading we only got 13 votes against, on the third and last reading we fought it again. We got 26 votes. It was passed.

A bill giving certain privileges to the Boston Elevated Railroad (formerly the West End street railroad company), we voted against it at every stage. It was passed.

Upon a bill increasing the excise tax to be levied upon street railroad corporations and also to put the right of revocation of their privileges in the hands of cities and towns, we voted, yes. It was defeated, 72 no, 42 yes.

Upon the bill introduced by us to prevent coercion of employes which passed the House and came back from the Senate amended in such a manner by Senator George, of Essex, that it became a very boomerang against trade unions, Carey spoke and succeeded in defeating the amendment and the bill in its original form went back to the Senate, where it was laid on the table.

Our bill providing for trial by jury in cases of contempt of court was reported adversely by the Judiciary Committee. Carey spoke twice in its support. It was defeated; 85 no, 39 yes. Carey asked for a roll call, but only 25, five less than enough, were willing to have one.

A bill providing for the assessment of a certain tax upon street railroads of Worcester received our support. It passed the House.

Upon a bill to provide trial by jury for contempt committed by editors, Carey spoke in favor. The bill was overwhelmingly defeated.

A bill to exempt trade unions

from the operations of the insurance law, which covered the ground of the one introduced by us, passed the house. We supported it at every stage.

An inheritance bill was defeated. We voted for the bill. We voted to substitute a bill to prohibit the employment of miners under 18 years of age in breweries. The bill was substituted.

Our bill exempting \$10 of a worker's income from attachment was reported adversely. Carey spoke twice in its support. It was rejected upon roll call by a vote of 69 nays to 56 yeas. We voted, yes.

A significant fact is that the House galleries are always crowded with workmen; a thing never before known, and they at times despite the rules demonstrate their sympathy for us in no uncertain manner.

The trade unions of Haverhill are (with the exception of the bakers) in the best condition for years, posting price-lists and winning every strike engaged in thus far. The trade unionists generally throughout the State are doing much to aid and encourage the Social Democrats, and in a natural manner the forces of the working class in Massachusetts are getting together for the supreme conflict.

Fraternally,
LOUIS M. SCATES,
JAMES F. CAREY.

Rosa Proletaire.

[CONTINUED FROM FIFTH PAGE.]

cent worse than the capitalist factory baker.

A reform that does not reform is no reform. I claim that the 640 acres clause would not only not better the farmers' conditions, but would make them even worse. If you can convince me of the contrary, Brother John, I am ready to listen to your argument.

Construction of grain elevators, etc., is all right. It may help the small farmers a little. However, the rich capitalist farmer would be just as much entitled to store his products in these cheap public elevators as the smaller one, consequently, he would derive more profit therefrom. Or would you prevent the rich farmer from using the elevator? I guess not, for you might with equal right prevent the Marshall Field, Wannamakers or Rockefeller's using the public postal service.

So it is with the other reforms in the farmers' platform. The nationalization of railroads for instance limits, or partly abolishes, capitalist exploitation of labor for the sake of profit. This is progressive, such a step has a revolutionary tendency. Most of the demands in our farmers' platform will work more good to the rich capitalist farmer than to the small bankrupt middleman.

How our rich capitalist farmers would laugh, if "Uncle Sam" would build them elevators and cold storage buildings, which they might use at cost!

By the way, our middle class business men in the cities have the same postal service facilities as the large department store kings. I wonder why these "smaller fellows" fail to make better use of it to advertise their goods? Perhaps they can't! Brother John, with me it is not a question of not wishing to help the farmers. The only trouble is I cannot see where our "farmers' platform" would bring any essential amelioration to the farmers. I should like to hear some old Socialist farmer express his opinion on this question.

Hoping Comrades Martin and Gordon will keep up this battle for a while, I remain

Your beloved sister
ROSA PROLETAIRE.

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